174 its rank, or even its class as a result of events of war or of too fre-
565 quent or too strong splits, sometimes decides to declare itself /163/
793 marabout. Piety is not indispensable for this; the tribe need only stop pillaging its neighbors and bearing arms. If some of them display the appearances of pious Moslems, learn a bit of the Koran, and wear beads, particularly if they can refer to some Arab ancestor, who formerly took refuge in the tribe, they succeed in being classed as marabouts after a certain time." (1)

1. Commander Cauvet,
Les noms des tribus Touaregs
/Names of Tuareg Tribes/,
p. 10.

565 In tribes which really practice their religion in a more serious
793 way than most of the Tuareg, he continues, there is surely an instillation of foreign blood, sometimes Semitic and often earlier
[144] than the Arab invasion. Without discussing here the reasons on
[142] which Commander Cauvet stands in speaking of the infusion of Semitic blood into the Ichériffen, we shall recall what we have already said, that we were strongly struck to find persons of a Semitic appearance, particularly marked in the old man, among the Ichériffen from the region of Gao and the Kel Es-Souq of Mohamed Ouguinat.

565 The explorer Duveyrier, who lived for a long time among the
631 northern Ifôra, considered them former nobles "who had abdicated
793 any political role in the administration of the confederation in order to conquer a greater religious authority, necessary in a society where justice is represented by no power." (2)

2. Les Touareg du Nord, p. 132.

He attributed to them a great moral and religious activity. It is true that certain Ifôra chiefs, like Sheik Othman who was one of

184 The Inislimen way of life is the same as that of the Tuareg.
565 They speak the same language and administer themselves with no
793 intervention from the Imochar. A few cases of polygamy have been
[631] observed among them. This is the result of their gradual Islamization,
[595] which favors the custom, and of patriarchy which was already in practice in some Sudanese tribes.

565 The Imrad. -- Imrad probably comes from the Tamashek root
[192] égeid, égeit, which means "kid," "little goat," and from the prefix
[422] am indicating possession. In short, this means "possessors of goats."
In fact, the Imrad formerly could own only goats, for the Imochar reserved the possession of camels for themselves.

Their nickname is Kel Oulli, which also means "goat people," a name which they prefer to Imrad, which is probably a bit degrading for them.

[631] /165/ They make up tribes enfeoffed to the Imochar and are their vassals.

The Imochar have a certain scorn for them and consider them people of low birth, not of the pure Tuareg race; the name Taouia Settefet, meaning "of black descent," is often applied to them. (1)

1. Among the Ioullimmiden they are referred to as Idinet.

173 Nothing indicates a racial inferiority of the Imrad to the Imochar,
565 however. If we want to interpret the old legends of the Ahaggar,
●144 everything leads us to believe that the Imrad were in most instances the first occupants of the country, and the Imochar, who were the invaders, were conquerers who made themselves masters of the country by force. The crossbreeding with the blacks cannot be a decisive criterion, for many Imrad tribes are not physically more "Negroid" than the Imochar. It is also true that the Imrad are
[186] less rigorous than the Imochar in maintaining the integrity of old
[184] Tuareg customs. They have less greatness of soul and sentiment, as well as less ethnic pride.

563 become sedentary, exists in the Sudan, in the Niafunké region.

There seems to be a category of low-class Iborelliten who are 563 referred to as Irraouellan. Nicolas considers them former captives 567 who have been liberated. Chudeau reported an Irraouellan tribe, [727] whose members were said to be freedmen or descendants of former captives. He adds that the children of a Tuareg man and a slave are by law Irraouellan.

We shall add to these different definitions that in the Aïr a slave woman who marries a Tuareg becomes free as does her family, and the children born of her marriage are then called Ikalalen.

[184] Among the Kel-Ahaggar, we do not find any true Iborelliten or Irraouellan tribes, although there are men belonging to these social classes.

567 The Iklan. -- The Iklan (singular, Akli; feminine singular, Taklit) are the serfs, or slaves, of the Tuareg. The name Iklan [192 comes from the Tamashek root Kl, meaning "black being"; (2) ●144]

2. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

and indeed these people are foreign to the Tuareg race. They are Negroes of all origins, formerly captured in the Sudan and reduced to slavery by the Tuareg. They form a separate class, which is not a tribe, except when they are freed conditionally or completely. Then they are called Iklan-n-égef or Iderfan, depending on which is the case.

[144] They have founded a family among the Tuareg and given birth to a new race with the most diverse characteristics, from which the white element is not excluded.

[181] Slaves are employed in keeping the flocks, and in the household work of the camp; they share the life of their masters and from their contact with them have acquired an independent nature which makes them love the freedom of nomadism, so much so that it would now be difficult for them to resume the sedentary life of their Ancestors.

2:Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P. 165A] Hoggar

174 themselves, which are either hopelessly vague and sketchy or obvious fabrications of Islamic inspiration, or a combination of the two, and which also are often contradictory. In the opinion of the present author it seems unreasonable to hope to learn much about Tuareg origins from literary sources, either written or preserved by word of mouth.

172 Fortunately, other kinds of sources are open, to us. The so-called tomb of Tin Hinan (fig. 40), the legendary ancestress of the Ahaggar 174 Tuareg (*see* Reygasse, 1950, pp. 88–106, and Wheeler, 1955, pp. 107–11), yielded a rich collection of jewelry including objects of gold, silver and iron and beads of glass and semiprecious stone, as well as various other odds and ends such as fragments of leather clothing (?) and wooden furniture, Roman lamps and glassware, arrow (or javelin?) points and nails of iron, and thin discs of gold that had been pressed over a coin or coins of Constantine the Great. Specialists consulted by the author[2] agree on two points: firstly, that most of this material bears no resemblance to anything we know from Egypt or the Sudan while all of it may well have come from elsewhere; and, secondly, that the whole assemblage has a distinctly eastern Roman flavor and may date from as early as the 4th or as late as the 6th century A.D. The iron projectile points are faintly disturbing, for they look almost exactly like those used on arrows by the modern Teita who live in the Coastal Province of Kenya Colony (Prins, 1955). All of this does not help us much, however, for as Wheeler (1955, p. 111) says: "In the absence of comparable relics within hundreds of miles of Tin Hinan, it is impossible at present to put her fortlet and tomb into a wider context." The one important lesson to be learned here is that we may hope to learn more about the origins of the Tuareg from future excavations of similar monuments and ancient habitation sites in the Tuareg country and surrounding regions. In the meantime we can only fall back once more on physical, linguistic and cultural evidence.

144 Physically the modern Tuareg of the Sahara

[2] These authorities included Christine Alexander and Vera K. Ostoia of the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, New York City, Anthony J. Arkell of University College London, Dows Dunham of the

2:Briggs E-4, 5 (ca. 1956) 1958
MS25 Tuareg MS25
[P.165B] Hoggar

●144 seem to be very close to northern Berbers, and particularly to relatively isolated and supposedly purer populations, notably the Rifians and Baamaranis (figs. 66 and 67), of northeastern and southwestern Morocco. They resemble these peoples in arm length, head form, facial proportions in general, nose length and nasal profile, hair form and skin color. They differ from the northern Berbers chiefly in that they have narrower shoulders and hips, longer legs, slightly broader noses, longer ears and darker hair and eyes. Their chests are smaller and flatter than those of Rifians or Kabyles but no more so than those of Baamaranis. Tuareg women are distinguished particularly by their short upper faces, narrow foreheads and long noses. We note in passing that the Tuareg seem to be closer in general to the Rifians and Baamaranis than to their eastern cousins.

Thus it is apparent that, metrically speaking, the Tuareg are markedly differentiated from northern Berber stocks only by a more elongated and refined general morphology, the details of which may well be adaptive characters developed locally in response to the extreme stresses of the central Saharan environment, as Bates (1914, p. 33) noted long ago. The broadness of adult male noses is probably due to nothing more than the pressure of the veil, although there may be an adaptive factor also involved. The rareness of
[143] light hair and eyes may possibly have been brought about by genetic drift operating in a population where endogamy within the tribe and usually within the clan has long been customary.

Thus we see that the Saharan Tuareg seem to fit very well, both metrically and morphologically, into the great Berber family of Northwest Africa in which their membership has already been established on the basis of both linguistic and serological evidence. But much work still remains to be done before we can even begin to define their relationships to other members of this family or to the other peoples of the Sahara who surround them on three sides.

Boston Museum of Fine Arts, George M. A. Hanfmann and Hugh Hencken of Harvard University, and Raymond Mauny of the *Institut Français de l'Afrique Noire* at Dakar.

144 The question of the racial origin of the Tuareg, as a branch of the Berber stock, is so intimately bound up with the problem of their origin in the broader sense which we have just been discussing that there is not much left for us to say about it separately. The learned 144 authors cited earlier in this section have all had 174 their say, but we have seen that their conclusions rest on evidence which is unavoidably [114] fragmentary and usually equivocal as well, since there is no other kind available at present. As for ourselves, we shrink as did Leblanc (1928–29, vol. 39, p. 44) from the temptingly spectacular but risky sport of skating over such thin ice in pursuit of a dream, no matter who the dreamer may have been. We are already in substantial agreement with the opinion of Vallois (1948, p. 40) that the Tuareg came into the Sahara probably from the North and possibly about the beginning of the Chris-

144 174 tian Era, and we had better let it go at that for the time being. There are indications in the mythology of the Tuareg that they were already Berber-speakers when they arrived in their present homeland. There are vague hints too, in the tales of Herodotus as well as in the serology of the Teda, that people something like those whom we now call Berbers may have been living in the eastern half of the Sahara for centuries before the birth of Christ, but whether or not they could have qualified as Tuareg, or even Berbers, in the sense in which we have been using those terms, is about as moot a question as one could hope to find. More and much fuller studies of physical morphology, blood groups and linguistics would go far toward helping us to solve the mystery of the Tuareg, but in the meantime our hands are tied.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air

and giraffes are found in the plains immediately south and west of the massif. I do not wish here to compare in detail the natural history of Air and Ahaggar. But I wish to emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically an important dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

At present both fair-skinned Europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern negroes constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953, p. 167ff.), but in Ahaggar the negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all negroes of Ahaggar where apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid Haratin then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. They introduced the irrigation systems known to the Tuareg as *efeli*, to the Arabs as *foggara* (i.e. irrigation by means of subterranean aqueducts), but the solid houses built of mud *(tazakami)* so characteristic of the northern oases were apparently not introduced by the first immigrants of Haratin, but later. Another immigration of negroid agriculturists came from Tassili-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Djanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the Haratin. They are said to have introduced irrigation by means of wells *(tanout)* from which water is drawn by zebus (or donkeys), and two particular types of dwellings are also ascribed to them, namely a subterranean or semi-subterranean dwelling *(edamous)* and a square hut *(ekeber)* covered with straw or rushes. Immigrations of predominantly negroid agriculturists from Tidikelt and Djanet take place also in modern times, but all the present agriculturists do not descend from immigrants of these regions. A large part of them are descendants of Tuareg slaves manumitted by their masters.

Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Air by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Air originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese with regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Air were negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers have arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that Air before the Tuareg was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45. – Urvoy 1936, p. 198ff.), and Barth claims the word *Air* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the massif to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations fully confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Air seem to admit that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and there are in the Berber dialect spoken by these people a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of Air is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg while

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar
Air

culture is never practised without irrigation. Rodd thinks that the Air agriculturists gave up shifting cultivation because they are too poor to-day to risk losing their seed in the event of inadequate or irregular rainfall (Rodd 1926a, p. 133). I rather think the reasons are that the agriculturists of the massif nowadays grow very little millet and have a better irrigation system than in the past. In summer maize forms by far the most important crop, and it needs irrigation which is comparatively easy when using zebus for drawing water. However this may be we can assume that a type of agriculture related to Sudanese shifting cultivation was formerly important to the Air agriculturists, and although irrigation is nowadays used everywhere agriculture in certain places of Air is still a kind of shifting cultivation. Many agriculturists do not resort to manuring nor do they carry fresh soil to the gardens as in Ahaggar. With crop rotation they utilize one and the same plot for a few years but then have to cut trees and brush-wood somewhere else to make a new garden. A new well must then also be dug, but as irrigation wells are rather shallow this work is comparatively easy.

There are in Air certain agricultural implements related to those of Sudanese farming cultures. We must mention in particular a small hoe hafted by means of a thong *(tagoumit)*. It is unknown both in Ahaggar and Tassili-n-Ajjer as well as further north in the desert while extremely common among Sudanese shifting cultivators. Feilberg has classed it with the so-called Old Sudanese Culture established by Baumann (Feilberg 1934, p. 260ff. – Baumann 1940, p. 50ff.; 1944, p. 213ff.). Baumann claims that this culture did not know the sickle, considered by him an implement of the so-called Young Sudanese Culture (Baumann 1940, p. 56ff.; 1944, p. 283ff.). The sickle (Air: *elegesouar*, Ahaggar: *amreh*) is in fact unknown in many Air villages, and is according to my investigations not generally used for the harvesting of crops but for cutting annual grasses to be stored for fodder. In Air the harvesting methods are as follows:– millet is cut with a knife, maize is cut at the root by means of the above-mentioned hoe, while wheat and barley are pulled up with the hands. Similar harvesting methods seem to be known in the Sudan (Baumann 1944, p. 295ff.). As a Sudanese trait we can perhaps also recognize the large clay amphoræ used for the storage of cereals (Rodd 1926, p. 317. – Nicolas 1950a, p. 146).

We can conclude this section as follows:– While the negroes of Ahaggar apparently have arrived in that country later than the fair-skinned Berbers the oldest known population in Air were Hausa-speaking negroes subsisting predominantly as agriculturists. Their original culture apparently was closely related to that of Sudanese shifting cultivators. Contacts with the north and in particular invasions of fair-skinned Tuareg have changed their cultural position. Mixing with the Tuareg they have also changed their physical type, but they are still predominantly negroid. They have adopted a Tuareg dialect but have retained part of their old vocabulary.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

565 619 *Imrad* (sing. *Amerid*). People of this class are sometimes called "serfs" in literature, but the word "vassals" is also used. I prefer to use the latter term, but add that the word *Imrad* is most difficult to translate into an European language. The vassal class is represented in all groups with the exception of the *Kel Geres*. Among the Northern Tuareg and also among the *Iwllemmeden* the word *Kel Ulli* (sing. *Agg Ulli*) is used synonymously with *Imrad*. Among south-western Tuareg around Timbuktu the word *Daga* or *Dara* is also used to designate vassals. The *Imrad* class is by far the most numerous in most groups. The relationship between these vassals (*Imrad*) and the noble Tuareg (*Ihaggaren, Imajeyen*) forms the basis of most political systems which are described later (p. 393 ff.).

101 565 Members of the above-mentioned classes are true Tuareg, though the word *Ineslemen* is also used for marabuts of other peoples and for marabuts of various black-skinned castes found among the Tuareg. Among the Northern Tuareg all people of the above-mentioned classes with the exception of certain *Ineslemen* or marabuts are called *Imuhar* (sing. *Amahar*). The Ayr Tuareg have no such common term to designate the people known to us as *Tuareg*, but occasionally they use generically the word *Imajeyen* though strictly speaking this term should be reserved for Tuareg of the supreme noble class.

101 The word *Tuareg* (sing. *Targi*) is never used by the Tuareg themselves, but by Arabs. Duveyrier claims it to be derived from an Arabic word of the root *terek* meaning "to abandon". The meaning of the word accordingly should be "those abandoned (by God)", and should refer to the fact that many Tuareg do not follow Islamic rules very strictly (Duveyrier 1864, p. 317 f.). The same explanation has also been given to me by an Arab of the *Ulad Ba Hammu* tribe of Tidikelt. However, the origin of the word "*Tuareg*" is perhaps a different one: – It may be related to the word *Turga* (Ayr) or *Turga* (Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer), which name is used by the Tuareg to designate the part of the Sahara generally known to us by the Arabic word *Fezzan*. This is very likely, as we know from Arab authors of the Middle Ages that the word *Turga* or *Turga* was then used as a name for a very important Tuareg group living in that area and adjacent regions (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 83 f.; Foucauld 1951 52, II, p. 534; Rodd 1926a, p. 273 f.).

142 144 The Tuareg are fair-skinned people who in certain regions and particularly in the south have mixed with Negroes. The Northern Tuareg are predominantly fair-skinned, and many of them are as "white" as Europeans though perhaps a little yellowish or brownish. It is difficult to determine their exact skin colour because they are burned and tanned by the sun and the hot wind characteristic of desert climate. In addition, the Tuareg wear clothes dyed with indigo which comes off on the body, and they rarely wash. When I lived among them my own skin-colour and that of the Tuareg were practically identical. Among the Ayr Tuareg there are also many fair-skinned people, but the Ayr Tuareg are more mixed with Negroes than the Northern Tuareg, and most *Kel Ewey* are predominantly negroid. Very mixed also are the *Kel Geres* and the same seems to hold for other Tuareg groups of the south. A few blond individuals have been recorded from the *Kel Ajjer* living around the oases of Rat and Radames, and they may be the offspring of unions between Tuareg women and caravan traders of the north (cf. Lhote 1955a, p. 162 f.). The blond individuals met in Southern Ayr are the offspring of the fairly numerous marriages between Frenchmen and Tuareg women, but it is claimed that a few years ago a very blond girl was born to parents of families which had never contracted marriages

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 3. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Ahaggar, the *Iklan-ea-tawsit* tribe.

Fig. 4. Unveiled vassal Tuareg. Tasilé-n-Ajjer.

142 with the French. I have myself never seen a genuine blond Tuareg, but I have met a few albinos though
144 albinism seems to be rare. These observations agree with those of Lhote (1955a, p. 163). All the Tuareg
[143] I have seen had curly or straight black hair, and dark brown or almost black eyes. Many individuals had fairly broad faces with protuding cheeks which gave them superficially a mongoloid appearance,
142 while others had features more like Mediterranean Europeans. In literature the Tuareg are generally described as very tall people. I did not myself carry out anthropological measurements, but will not hesitate to state that in my opinion a great many Tuareg are far from big. Very many adult men in the groups I have visited were considerably shorter than myself (1.73 m). Tuareg men are generally dry
[147] and meagre, bearing the stamp of their roaming life in the desert. Their most outstanding quality is
[157] that of endurance and contempt of hunger and hardship. The appearance of Tuareg women is often quite different – they tend to grow fat. This is probably to some extent due to the fact that married
826 women spend most of their life in the tents and get little physical exercise. But fatness is also a sign
832 of feminine beauty, and some women make a great effort to grow fat by drinking milk or eating
[261] certain fattening plants (cf. p. 177, 178). According to some Tuareg fat women symbolize wealth – large flocks and herds, and much milk – but many Tuareg also say that they prefer fat women because they

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 5. Veiled vassal Tuareg. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

Fig. 6. Irrigation farmer of the *Iburelliten*, that is descendants of mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and Negroes. The man is patrilineally related to the noble *Tuyuk* tribe, matrilineally to slaves. Ahaggar, Amsel.

181 and there are indeed many Tuareg both in Ahaggar and in Ayr who wear Islamic amulets which are believed to make the wearers look "great and important". "Prestige" is constantly in the mind of all Tuareg who are much more sophisticated than other people living within their country.

181 Most true Tuareg are nomadic stock-breeders who will not engage in the strenuous work of irriga-
433 tion agriculture. The Tuareg will readily engage in any strenuous work connected with stock-breeding,
461 caravan trading, and in the past also in raiding expeditions, which were organized by people of the nobility, but agricultural work is generally much despised. However, there are in all groups certain families or tribes the members of which subsist predominantly by agriculture, and are nevertheless
564 considered true Tuareg by pastoralists. These agricultural Tuareg will be mentioned in a later chapter,
567 and we shall now pass on to a brief description of various negroid castes and of other non-Tuareg people living within the boundaries of Tuareg territory:—

Iklan (sing. *Akli*). These are the proper slaves who are very negroid. Nicolas believes that the word *Akli* (pl. *Iklan*) is in fact derived from a k-l root meaning "to be black" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189), but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Ahaggar to cultivate gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaṛen*, or *Ḥarratin*, like the immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual, speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahaḳ*). The *Izeggaṛen* (*Ḥarratin*) are generally less negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features. Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaṛen* (sing. *Azeggaṛ*) refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaṛen* does not seem to exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Ṛat oasis known as *Ikewweren* apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

Kel Ġanet (sing. *W' Ġanet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ġanet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ġanet* have much the same position as Tuareg vassals (Imṛad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ġanet* immigrants, their status is rather like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ġanet* may possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

Ineden (*Ineden* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Ened*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one. People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963). A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Tementit in Tawat. At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.). 2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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[184] Fig. 9. Vassal woman with her child straddling over the right hip. The Tuareg generally carry their children in this way though certain Ayr Tuareg have adopted the Sudanese fashion of carrying children on the back. Ahaggar, the *Aĝuh-en-tehli* tribe.

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have expressed as their opinion that the blacksmiths originally constituted a fair-skinned Tuareg population who mixed with black-skinned Sudanese people like so many true Tuareg. It is interesting that Tuareg blacksmiths have a peculiar language of their own known as *ténet*. This language has unfortunately never been studied. It is used by the blacksmiths mainly as a secret language spoken when they do not want other people to understand them, whereas blacksmiths use Tuareg (*tamaĥeḳ*) as their family language. The Ayr Tuareg consider the *ténet*-language an invention of the blacksmiths.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

13 would emphasize the fact that climatically, botanically, and zoologically a certain dividing line runs between these two Tuareg countries. This should not be overlooked in an anthropological description of these parts of Northern Africa.

●144 174 At present both fair-skinned europids and black-skinned negroid people live all over the Sahara, and are frequently mixed. There seems to be little doubt that in the north most Negroes have come in with the slave trade. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility that part of the northern Negroes in the Fezzan constitutes an ancient population of the Sahara (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 167 ff.), but in Ahaggar the ancestors of the present Negroes seem to have arrived later than the fair-skinned Berbers. Until a hundred years ago all Negroes of Ahaggar were apparently Tuareg slaves bought or captured in the Sudan, but the negroid *Ḥarratin* then immigrated from Tidikelt to make gardens for the Tuareg. Another immigration of predominantly black-skinned and negroid agriculturists came from Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in particular from the oasis of Ġanet. It is not quite certain whether they came before or after the *Ḥarratin*. – Negro slaves have also been introduced from the Sudan to Ayr by pastoral Tuareg, but there is no doubt that Ayr originally was a pure Sudanese country anthropologically, as it is Sudanese in regard to climate, botany, and zoology. In other words, the oldest known inhabitants of Ayr were Negroes while the fair-skinned Berbers arrived at a later date. It is stated both by Nicolas and Urvoy that, before the Tuareg, Ayr was inhabited by negroid Hausa or Proto-Hausa (Nicolas 1950a, p. 45; Urvoy 1936, p. 138 ff.), and Barth claims the word *Ayr* to be relatively late and of Tuareg origin, the word *Azben* also used as a name of the Massif, to be of Hausa origin and older (Barth 1857, I, p. 369). My investigations seem to confirm these statements. All Tuareg questioned about the history of Ayr have admitted that the negroid agriculturists have lived in the country before the Tuareg, and in the Berber dialect spoken by these people there are a great many Hausa words. It is, I think, of particular interest that the negroid village population of the *Kel Ewey* group is said to have a kinship system quite distinct from that of all true Tuareg and related to the system is use among the black-skinned citizens of Agadez. These people draw no distinction between parallel cousins and cross-cousins, while distinct terms for these relatives are characteristic of true Tuareg systems (Figs. 293–294).

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Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tazenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and left upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tésenit*) filled with ears of millet (*énélé*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

563 from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were
173 kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired
[361] the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405
361 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a
621 later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agri-
[312] cultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the
[563] women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

197 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857,
563 I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language
361 of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of
162 Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isaweɣen*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an
563 excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season
433 some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and
245 crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.
221
463 Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-
361 huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages
342 belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg
162 groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north
162 as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking popula-
44 tion that subsisted on agriculture.
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tion that subsisted on agriculture. Most members of the *Kel Ewey* group are fairly negroid in appearance, and though some of them lead a nomadic life and subsist mainly on stock-breeding, the bulk of the *Kel Ewey* are sedentary agriculturists who have some livestock comprising goats, sheep, zebus, and sometimes camels also. Among the fair-skinned Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group there are very few sedentary agriculturists, though a few vassals have taken up irrigation agriculture in recent times. There are also agriculturists within the negroid group of the *Kel Ferwan* known as *Iṛawélen*. Some *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg have gardens cultivated by their slaves, but this is not customary nowadays when slavery is of little importance in Ayr. Contracts between pastoral Tuareg and cultivators are said to have been unknown until recent times when a few pastoralists have made contracts with cultivators. There seem to be no fixed systems regulating such relationships, but it is said to be common for the cultivator and the Tuareg to divide crops equally between them.

Though agriculture could be practised in Ayr without artificial irrigation there are no rain-grown crops within the Massif nowadays. The *foggara* system is unknown, and irrigation is done by raising water from shallow wells. The system of a pole and bucket provided with a counterweight known in Ayr as *aseftan* has disappeared quite recently. It was used at many agricultural settlements of Ayr until a few years ago, and in parts of the country formed the only type of irrigation system at the time of the French occupation. One informant told me that in his boyhood about 35 years ago no other irrigation method was employed at Alarses, and this is in agreement with literature (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 322). At that time, however, the method of raising water from wells by animal traction (in Ayr *anu*, in Ahaggar *tanut*) was also practised at many settlements. It is unknown when it came to Ayr, but it is said to have been introduced from the north – probably from the regions of Fezzan and Tasilé-n-Ajjer from where the same system came to Ahaggar (cf. p. 187). It is now used at all settlements as the only type of irrigation system, and zebu-oxen are always used for traction. This was not so in the past when zebus were less common than to-day, and it is said that donkeys were then the common draught-animals. The irrigation of gardens is performed in much the same way as in Ahaggar. The water raised from the shallow well (*anu*) is led through a narrow canal (*aṛelal*) to a large basin (*tisemt*) from where another canal (*duki*) leads to the garden (*afaṛag*), which is divided into a number of beds (*éfeṛal*).

Cereals form the most important crops in Ayr. The common winter crop is wheat (*elkama*; *Triticum vulgare*), but also barley (*Hordeum tetrastichum* var. *pallidum*) is very widely grown. One crop of these two cereals is taken every winter, and it is said that the period of growth is about five months; sowing is done in October, harvest in March. Cereals are also important for summer crops. Both millet (*énélé*; *Pennisetum typhoideum*) and sorghum (*abora*; *Sorghum caudatum*) are grown, and millet, as we have seen, has a very short period of growth – only about two months (cf. p. 184). But though millet is most important as food for agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg alike, it is not widely grown because it is difficult to protect it from the numerous small birds and because, it is said, millet grown in Ayr is of a quality inferior to that of the Sudanese type. Most of the millet eaten in Ayr is therefore imported from Damergu by pastoral Tuareg. By far the most important summer crop grown in Ayr is maize (*Zea mays*), which is known to the Tuareg as *abora maser*, that is "Egyptian sorghum" (*abora* = sorghum; *maser* = Egypt) (the name *maser* is also used to designate the white cotton used for garments

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642 565 there are no true vassals or *Imṛad* though some *Kel Ewey* tribes are referred to in literature as vassals.

174 642 565 [144] The lack of the important structural feature of vassalage among the *Kel Geres* may perhaps be explained in the following way:— The *Kel Geres* Tuareg lived originally in Ayr within much the same area as that now occupied by the *Kel Ewey*, and it is most likely that they had mixed very much with the sedentary Negroes as there are among the *Kel Geres* very many black-skinned and negroid Tuareg. It is very probable that the *Kel Geres* when living in Ayr led a semi-sedentary life, for it is said that they had very few domestic animals when they left Ayr in the 18th century owing to the pressure of the *Kel Ewey*. We may perhaps assume that this particular mode of livelihood was the reason why vassalage ceased to exist among the *Kel Geres*. When, in the 18th century, the *Kel Geres* were driven southwards into the Sudanese steppes and savannahs, they became ardent stock-breeders and adopted a political system much related to that of an ordinary Tuareg drum-group with the exception that they had no class-division.

614 642 643 Among the *Kel Geres*, all tribes of pastoral Tuareg are known as *Imajeṛen* but though they are not divided into classes these tribes are nevertheless not politically identical. The most important tribe is that called *Ti-temeḳḳeret*. It is named after Anu-Meḳḳeret in Central Ayr where this tribe originally lived, and the *Kel Geres* drum-chief (*ettebel*) is always elected from this particular group. But the drum-chief is not elected by all adult people of his drum-group, but by members of three tribes, the *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar*. The members of these tribes alone can elect and dismiss a drum-chief entirely at their discretion. When they have elected a new drum-chief he is ceremoniously installed by a man of the *Anyegeren* tribe who wraps the large head-cloth around the chief's head. In all this the *Kel Geres* resemble the *Kel Ewey* among whom the *Anestafidet* is elected by the members of three important tribes.

The three tribes of *Anyegeren*, *Ireyawen*, and *Kel Awnar* are also politically very important in other respects for they consistute the nuclei of three sub-divisions of the *Kel Geres*. The chiefs of the three tribes have the title *Aṛolla* (pl. *Iṛollan*) and they are also the chiefs of certain other pastoral tribes [563] which have individual chiefs with the title of *Amṛar* (pl. *Imṛaren*). A certain number of people who are non-Tuareg by origin are placed under the authority of all tribal chiefs, e.g., *Iṛawélen* who are slaves manumitted in the past, *Ikenawen* who are professional potmakers, *Ineden* or blacksmiths, and *Inḍfnen*, that is sedentary Hausa living in villages.

614 642 645 In addition to the tribe of the drum-chief and the three *Iṛollan* tribes, there is among the Kel Geres a fifth tribe which is politically very important, namely that known as *Ezuṛmani*. It is a religious tribe of the so-called *Echchikhen* class, and its chief is known as *Echchikh* though he also bears the title of *Al-Ḳadi*. He acts as the adviser of the drum-chief in judicial and religious matters, and though he apparently possesses no direct authority over all *Kel Geres* he is very influential and greatly respected. The *Al-Ḳadi* or *Echchikh* is elected according to the traditional rules of succession acknowledged by the *Kel Geres*, a deceased chief being succeeded by his younger brother or by his son. But in contrast to all other chiefs, including the drum-chief, he cannot be dismissed when he is once elected. All religious tribes within the *Kel Geres* drum-group are placed directly under the authority of the *Al-Ḳadi* (*Echchikh*) of the *Ezuṛmani* tribe. But the *sadakat* fees are made to the drum-chief and not to the Al-Ḳadi.